/117 cont./

342 761 783 [792] [773] [628] 961 783 123 Anyone may build himself a house of whatever size he wishes on his own land in the mountains, as well as on the above-mentioned community land in the valley, but he must first ask the shaman acting for him whether any bones of the Pijao are in the ground on the piece of land in mind. As comes out in the myths, the Pijao in ancient times were the frightful and militarily cleverer enemies of the Paez. Their bones (ec ndyít Pijao) contain "pest." This pest is a very complex and significant concept among the Paez (cf. under "Religion" /see p. 191/), and the pest of the Pijao bones is capable of killing the people living above them. How very much our interpreter Victoriano, one of the most enlightened Paez, was affected by this fear came out when he worked with us in the archeological park in San Andrés. For lack of space he had to sleep in the tool room, where, however, he felt very comfortable and, with a camp bed and mattress, had built himself probably the best bed of his life. One day we opened a large prehistoric grave-chamber, which contained more than 80 bone-urns with the remains of cremations. Since we could not accommodate such a large number of urns in our living room, which at the same time served as our museum, we had to put a number of them in the tool room. I left the skeletal remains in several of them in order to save them for a later examination. Weeping, Victoriano begged me please not to put in his tool room any urns containing bones, because the bones might have come from the Pijao, who would surely kill him. Even the washed and cleaned urns, he assured us, contained very much "pest," so that at the next opportunity he wanted to go to Calderas and have himself "purified" by his home shaman. He failed to do this, and when after a few days he had a toothache, he traced this back to the action of the pest from the burial urns previously filled with bones.

342 761 783 756 787 /118/ The shaman's testing of the ground proposed as the building site is not done by digging or sampling the ground; rather, the one who wishes to build goes to the house of the shaman in the evening with coca, tobacco, and brandy, tells him of his wish, and then both sit down on the ground next to each other

/118 cont./

342 and begin to chew coca and tobacco and to drink brandy to-
761 gether. After a while the shaman ascertains through signs in
789 his arms or legs whether bones of the Pijao are in the ground.
756 If this is not the case, the building may be started; otherwise
787 the man must look for another building site. After the building is finished, a further ceremony is performed (see under "Religion"
342 /see p. 205/), and then the same shaman fastens special herbs
752 to the roof to prevent the ečˇ or gelyómp spirit, hostile to man,
789 from entering the house from there.

Houses are built only by men, by fathers of families.
342 One man alone, however, is not in a position to do this. At
476 least in the erection of the house posts he is helped by his brothers,
[462] as well as by other men and friends who have nothing else to do anyway on these days and receive chicha and something to
342 eat for their assistance. The building material costs nothing,
273 to be sure, but the builder must furnish a substantial amount of
476 chicha, for which planning must be begun in plenty of time, two or three years beforehand, by the planting of sufficient sugar cane. This is the task of the married son who is still living in
[594] his father's house this long. To make the chicha he also still
[249] needs the sugar mill of his father, upon whose consent and help,
[461] therefore, much depends. According to the amount of chicha that is available, the building of the house thus lasts two to six months, depending on whether only five or 15 men participate.

342 The most important thing in the construction of the house
335 is the erection of the wooden frame (Ills. 161 to 164 /see p.272 /),
[476] which always requires several men who bring in the trees, which are superficially smoothed with the machete, but not freed of bark. The master of the house is able to make the walls by
[462] himself in an emergency. The covering of the roof, too, like the entire house construction, is men's work, but the woman of the house may hand up the sugar-cane leaves for the roofing. First the vertical corner and side posts of the outer walls (yátšˇnda) are erected, then the outer beams lying horizontally on the side posts to support the roof (yátpopānt) are laid on, and, as the third step in the work, the horizontal crossbeams (bīkas) are fastened at

/143 cont./

224 mountain spirit. We met only a single young man of about 18 who goes hunting alone in the mountains once a week. He told us that, in order to become a good hunter, one must first try to [789] kill a bear (ĕ̆swiy). One must then rub its fat into the right [237] lower-arm, which would give him the same powers as the bear. [262] One is not permitted to eat this fat, however, because it would [828] make him insane. After rubbing in the fat, the young hunter [263] continued, one may not eat salt at any meal for a week. There are no further rules and ceremonies of any kind to be observed. [237] We learned, however, that one can also use bear fat as a heal- [752] ing remedy, and, to be sure, for bone fractures or sprains one [757] must rub the affected part with bear fat, whereupon the injured limb will heal immediately and will become considerably 224 stronger than ever before. For stalking he wears on his head a 292 cap made of the skin of a reddish-blond hairy monkey (mŏ̆no), [825] which in the first place protects him from the thorns of the bushes, but which is also supposed to facilitate creeping up on [439] game. He sold it to us for two pesos without hesitation, since, [126] as he said, he was perfectly capable of shooting another monkey 224 for himself. He was not afraid of the gĕ̆lyŏ̆mp spirit, but the 776 other men were, for gĕ̆lyŏ̆mp screams and makes a noise when human beings enter his area in the mountains, so that they become quite confused and go astray. The mountain spirit cannot do anything to several men together, however, since he could make as much noise as he pleased, but they would not let themselves be diverted. Of course, the men, even if there are ever so 224 776 many of them, must not offend the mountain spirit or provoke 515 him unnecessarily, but rather must avoid everything that gĕ̆lyŏ̆mp 783 does not like. /144/ For instance, he hates everything impure [296] and filthy. Hence the men always only go hunting well washed; [824] they even wash the entire body, and the ruana, too. In addition, they rub themselves with the cleansing herbs šu̇ and šayuts, which they obtain from the shaman, in order to be really altogether [761] clean in a physical and ritual sense. But if someone has taken part in a burial or has merely seen a funeral procession close by, he has picked up a good deal of "pest" from the dead and must have himself specially purified by the shaman before hunting.

/144 cont./

have himself specially purified by the shaman before hunting. In case the wife of a hunter happens to be menstruating at the very time of the hunt, however, purification is of no avail; the hunter is too "dirty" and must stay at home, so as not to provoke the wrath of the gĕlyómp and thus bring misfortune on the entire hunting party.

The latter generally consists of six men with 12 dogs, without there being any regular battues, however. The hunters are equipped with shotguns, whose smooth barrels, with a caliber of about 15 millimeters, consist of strong sheet-iron. Fine sand is used as shot; powder is purchased and ignited with a spark from the flintlock.

There are no closed seasons for animals; nor is gĕlyómp angry, say, because too much game might be hunted, for "this does not happen, since there is not that much." After hunting, however, the hunter fastens the tail feathers of the birds killed to the inner side of the roof of his house and the cleanly gnawed skulls of the four-footed animals killed to its center post or center gable-post, both so as to be successful again the next time in hunting the same game. I found tail feathers of birds under the roof covering of almost every house, and frequently also three, five, or ten monkey or rabbit skulls fastened directly to the house post or strung one above the other on a string. Only once did I find, on the gable post of a small field-hut, at a man's height, below a monkey skull, a very crudely incised human figure with an oval face and six hairs standing straight up on the head (Ill. 200 /see p. 288/). The eyes are represented by circles, the nose by a long rectangle, and the mouth by a triangle. The body is rectangular. Two semicircular lines are incised on the sides of the body. The arms start at these semicircles as two bent lines and stick out somewhat; the legs are represented in a similar way; a triangle between them is probably supposed to indicate the genitals. A Christian cross is carved on the side of the post. I was told that the human figure represents the "devil," /145/ but had nothing to do with hunting. This explanation is, of course, unsatisfactory, but I was unable to find any similar

In general
842 /184 cont./every girl desires a great
[581] many children, for this is the chief requirement for being married.
Moreover, the percentage of barren women -- in childless marriages,
[162] they say, the fault is always the woman's -- is not small. According to inquiries, it comes to about 10 per cent. Men generally want boys; the women, girls, in order to have help in the house-
845 hold. Twin births are rare, but they are not regarded as anything special; rather, people are happy about them as they are about other children. Deformities at birth are said not to occur; however, I saw several persons with cleft palates. They seem to be ashamed of this, for in conversations with us they always held
847 their hands over their mouths. Infanticide does not occur. To
123 inquiries about this, there was always the completely horrified counterquestion as to whether that was the case in my country.
165 Overpopulation is not to be feared, even with a larger number
[163] of children -- the average is three to four living children per family -- since infant mortality comes to more than 50 per cent.
[164] Whooping cough is the most frequent cause of death among small children.

a) Birth and Childhood

843 The parents' concern for the child begins even before birth. The husband of a pregnant woman expecting her first child must sleep with her very frequently, for otherwise the child would be very weak. In the case of subsequent children this is no longer
[783] required so often after the beginning of pregnancy. The pregnant woman may not leave the house or eat pork for two months before the birth, since this causes "pest" and she would have stomach
[822] pains; this would be very detrimental to the child. For the same reason she may not eat beans and onions, and no fish because it comes from the cold element, water, and because a pregnant woman must not become cold.

843 According to one informant, the pregnant woman retires
343 to the menstruation hut (dúyat) two to three weeks before the
124 birth. During this time her mother or another female relative cooks for the family. According to another informant, the
000 /185/ woman does not retire to the dúyat until the birth. In any

/185 cont./

844 until very late and only with great difficulty. The proper depth is supposed to be about 30 centimeters.

846 Four to six days after birth and after the first bath, the
851 father or one of the godparents brings the child to the sacristan of
608 the village or /186/ to the women missionaries, in order to have
[797] it christened with water and given the name of the Christian saint
of the christening day. Every child has only one given name and
[551] the Paez surname of its father. The baptism by the priest with oil takes place later on a suitable occasion, in the presence of the god-
[783] parents, and is followed by an eating and drinking bout. The
[756] mother also takes part in this, after she has left the dûyat and has washed herself, her child, and her clothes and has been purified by the shaman.

861 The rearing of the children is in the hands of the parents, who teach them the necessary accomplishments of life quite as a matter of course and almost in play. Disobedient children are also beaten, however, and, to be sure, usually if the son has no real desire to help his father with the field work. In punishing, the fathers are generally stricter than the mothers and on occasion beat them with leather straps all over their bodies. The boxing
[461] of ears is also to be seen. If a young man proves to be lazy in later life, the father is blamed because he did not properly ad-
848 monish his son to work. Illegitimate sons, who lack the strict hand of a father, are said to turn out badly in many cases, though as such they are very popular. Since they do not know their father, they are not obliged to work in his field. They are all the more
[426] in demand as helpers in the fields of other families. When they
[431] are older, they may borrow land and establish a family. Usually they even receive the land as a present. Thus, they need not
848 starve by any means. Illegitimate daughters are in a more unfavor-
562 able position, for their help is not needed for the most part, and their mother does not have a household of her own. Nevertheless
[583] their marriage prospects are not unfavorable, since a girl does not
[581] have a dowry, but is married only on the basis of her personal qualities.

/196 cont./

764 184 It is dug out about 1.50 meters and at the bottom provided with a lateral longitudinal niche about 40 centimeters high. This niche is generally hollowed out on the left side, but sometimes on the right. The body is laid in this, without the bier and without accessories, horizontally on its back, so that it no longer extends into the shaft of the grave. The shaft and the niche are, in addition, separated by vertical stakes and rods placed side by side so that the deceased cannot be touched by the earth filling the grave. On the latter, a stone about one meter high is placed at the head or foot end for identification.

[793] [756] The priest is not present at a burial, nor is the shaman who acts for the district of the deceased. The latter also does not enter a house in which there is a dead person. The participants in the funeral procession, men, women, and children, go to the graveyard together and then back again to the house of the deceased, where lavish entertainment with food, chicha, and brandy now follows. The latter was also drunk copiously on the way to and from the burial place. The mood during the entire time is 756 jolly and animated; people laugh and make jokes. Before the 764 participants enter the house upon their return from the burial, 783 they must go to the river where the shaman awaits them, in order 184 to "cleanse" them of the "pest" of the deceased for the first time (see "Religion"). Then they go together to the house of the deceased, which they may not enter, however, until the shaman has also cleansed this with the same remedies with which he freed the human beings of the "pest." These are water, to which special herbs and cow excrement are added, sprinkled everywhere, as well as brandy, which, mixed with herbs, the shaman squirts everywhere.

764 184 In Togoima we were able to take part in the burial of two small children (angelitos). The graves of the cemetery in this town all have an east-west direction. The niche is always at the left, the body lies on its back with the head toward the west. The size of the grave required is measured with a bamboo stick that is [273] as long as the deceased. Before the burial, there is drinking, [535] music, and dancing in the house. /197/ Music is also played at [533] the burial and on the way to the graveyard.

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Besides the remedies which the shaman must use for curing, his signs also predict fate and the future for him or tell him whether the sicknesses will become better or worse. They also tell him about events which are imminent. Thus he learns through them, for example, that sick persons will be coming to him on the following day with this or that illness or this or that request. For all these matters every shaman has his signs at definite parts of his body, those on the left half of his body generally signifying something unfavorable, those on the right half, something good. Thus the rise of the signs from the outer side of the right foot to the ankle means that the medicinal herbs are taking effect. If the signs rise from the outer side of the left foot, this is proof that the nyic must win and the bewitched one must die. If the signs rise on the right foot to the shin, a member of the family will die and his soul go to heaven. If the signs go along the inner side of the left foot, "pest" will come, and the sick person will become mentally ill. If the signs are felt between the right shin and the heel and they go toward the left side, this is an omen of a battle between the teyu and the nyic. If the signs move from the left ankle up to the hollows of the knees, the planted field is bewitched. Signs in the left calf announce the visit of an evil shaman; signs in the right calf, the visit of a good old woman; signs on the outer side of the right or left calves announce the visit of a nyic or a good old man, respectively. Signs that run down from the right knee cap announce the death of a person through tũs or gẽlyómp ("rainbow" or "mountain spirit" as spirit beings, see below /see pp. 191ff./). Signs on the /265/ left kneecap mean that the teyu will win in battle with the nyic; signs from the upper thighs to the hollows of the knees of the right foot, that the patient will die of a malignant "pest." If the signs go down from the left upper thigh, a bad person is walking by outside. If the signs go from the right hip to the foot, the wife will menstruate. If the signs are felt in the tenth rib on the right side, the sick person will soon die, since he has been stung by the mountain spirit. The signs on the left tenth rib announce the arrival of an evil person. If the signs go from the

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115 787 834 534 greatly hated in the village. In an intoxicated state the men have often threatened to murder him. One day he came to us and said that we would have to hurry with our work, for he would soon die. He was by no means agitated when he said this, but smiled with an expression of absolute conviction. In answer to our question as to why, he stated that during the night he had dreamed of seeing himself in the grave. This is a sure sign that he must die. He would not let us ease his mind, for he knew, so he said, that he was unpopular in the village and he had been threatened with death anyway because he had seen more than the others, wore better clothes, and ate meat, instead of working in the village. For this reason the nyic would most certainly bring him to his death. It took several days and all our art of persuasion to get him away from this idea. Again and again we had to point out that, after all, he was a Christian, and as a precaution we had to give him many of our medications, before he would believe that perhaps he need not die [787] after all. In any case his medallion of the Virgin Mary, which he always carries with him, does not unconditionally help against 787 evil magic. In the following there are a few further examples of dreams that are significant in some way or other: if one dreams that he is bitten by a snake, it is a sign of bewitchment; if, however, in the dream another person kills this snake at the moment of biting, a teyu will put an end to the bewitchment. To dream of jaguars and cats indicates that there are graves of the Pijao under [763] the house. Someone will die of the "pest" of the Pijao if a person dreams that a jaguar is devouring his chickens. Dreaming about a [763] funeral pile means that there is gold there. If one dreams about a cow, his wife will die. If one kills a bull or a horse in a dream, a good person (a shaman) will die. If one is stung by wasps in a dream, it means future punishment. Carrying beams or a chicha trough in a dream means that one will soon assist at a funeral. To choke in a dream means war, captivity, or being put into prison. Moreover, it is always a bad sign to dream of arracacha; in case of a journey, one would, for example, be devoured by a jaguar in the páramo. Also, if one dreams that he is able to walk under a rock, it likewise means that a jaguar will devour him. If someone

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778 and had their staff of office consecrated there. Today this no
756 longer takes place because of the lack of good shamans. The
623 shamans of today no longer have the intense visions that the
[787] earlier ones had, and that is why they are no longer so powerful magically. They are no longer able to speak with Thunder as simply as their predecessors did, and since they are weaker, it is believed that Thunder will kill them.

776 Thunder is generally described as small of stature and dressed like a Paez man with hat and black ruana. It is reported that he does not wear trousers, but exposes his sexual parts. He has with
[534] him, like a shaman, his tama, a fiber bag with medicines, and a
[532] musical instrument called "tíngalo" (triangle). It is not impossible that it is his picture, together with a Christian cross, that is incised in the gable post of a hut in the vicinity of the park of San Andrés, which represents a man with large, triangular-shaped sexual parts (Ill. 200 /see p. 288 /).

[756] /270/ Thunder is regarded by all the Paez as the greatest
[773] shaman and by the teyu as their master. In the folklore (see below /see pp. 215 ff./), he probably often has different names, such as Juan Tama, Llivan, Chauté, Juan Chiracol, but his characteristics stand out in them, no matter whether as sát (cacique) he is fighting the Pijao and defending his people, or that he will one day -- people are convinced -- again drive the hated whites
776 out of Tierradentro. He warns the Paez of an evil white person
821 who is coming to Tierradentro for a visit by a clap of thunder from
● [783] a clear sky. When he thunders above a particular house, he is
[754] announcing that there is "pest" in it, and if he thunders first above the house of a nyic and then above one belonging to a teyu he is thereby announcing to a good shaman that he has just been bewitched.

776 A few stories also tell about the struggles of the shamans
787 against Thunder, for he once robbed the Paez of livestock and
756 people. But that was long ago, for today no one would dare undertake anything against Thunder. The Calderun shamans tell how the earlier teyu were in a position to speak with Thunder at any time and to get advice from him. Those of today are no

/270 cont./

75[illegible] longer able to do this. Old Filisa of Santa Rosa, however, who
776 was herself chosen and initiated into her office by Thunder, is
787 still able to enter into communication with Thunder today. To be sure, she cannot always do this, but she has often sought him out in his lagoon, dived into the water, gone to the house of Thunder on the bottom of the lagoon, and asked him for advice. One of the sons of Thunder, likewise a shaman, was even her constant companion who protected her everywhere. "In former times," she said, "Thunder himself cured people. Today it is different." Thunder knows when someone is sick; then when people come to her to ask for a remedy, Thunder personally announces to the shaman beforehand: such and such persons with such and such an illness will come today. He also tells her at the same time what remedies she should use. Then when the people come to tell about the illness, she can, since she is a good friend of Thunder, always help them with the best remedies.

776 Thunder, she said, has many children. They come into the world by way of a spring or a crevice out of which water trickles. They have the size of small human beings, but are very good and dressed in a beautiful táw (belt). For growing up and for their nourishment they need three women as attendants. They suck milk from them, whereupon the women must die. The Thunder-children /271/ themselves are barren and have no children. As children of Thunder, however, they have always been great caciques and shamans.

One day she showed me a small knot of a branch, wrapped in a piece of cloth. "This is a child of Thunder that I have from him," she said, "it looks like a branch, but in reality it is alive and can speak."

d) Sickness, Ideas About the Spirits and Souls

753 All sicknesses are explained by the Paez as having originated
754 by means of magical influences that have their cause primarily
● 783 in malevolent, deliberate acts. These magical, supernatural influences are either bewitchments by the nyic, magical injury

/271 cont./

753 caused by the spirits ečˇ, tũs, or gělyómp, or general emanations
783 of impurity, of "pest" (uwẽ). Such reasons for catching pest, and
[754] thereby being afflicted with sickness, result largely from neglecting
[764] the prescribed shamanistic purifications. These must take place after a burial or when someone has merely seen a funeral procession or entered a house in which there is a corpse. The prohibitions
753 783 surrounding a woman giving birth or menstruating are just as strict.
841 If she does not retire to the menstruation hut at the proper time,
[849] if she cohabits during these days or neglects to take the subsequent bath after menstruation and birth, the consequences are equally
[264] grave. Pest befalls a man if he accepts food from a menstruating
753 woman. The same consequences befall the one who in housebuild-
783 ing or during the first harvest does not have the proper ceremonies
756 performed by the shaman.
342

754 Most people die as the result of the evil influence of the
783 nyic, the evil sorcerers. The latter -- it is firmly believed --
761 are able to kill individual persons as well as to send pest to entire villages. Their power of evil is regarded as almost unlimited. Besides being bewitched by a nyic, there are three other possibili-
753 ties for a person to become ill or to die. These causes are
761 gělyómp, tũs, and ečˇ. All three are very complex conceptions
776 and may be translated roughly as "mountain spirit," "rainbow," and "firefly," respectively, although the Paez conception and the
[756] translation are not completely identical. The teyu knows the cause of the illness immediately from his signs, the rest of the people, however, usually only after the death of the sick person. And, to be sure, one recognizes the tũs as the cause of illness by the fact /272/ that the corpse lies there with a bent limb (arm or leg), whereas in the case of ec as the cause of death, blood flows from the mouth or nose. It is also possible that both together, tũs and ečˇ, might bring death to the person, for example, if the person lies there bent and blood flows from the mouth or nose.

776 The gělyómp spirit lives chiefly in the mountains, but also in the valley, on the banks of brooks or rivers. He likes to lead wanderers astray in the mountains by making noise and screaming up there; at night one hears his screams -- like those of a human

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776 being -- in the valley, too, near the village. He is a raging foe
[784] of everything dirty. A hunter who has not washed himself and his ruana before hunting or whose wife is in the menstruation hut at the time will be punished by him. He has the figure of a human being, sometimes that of a man, but sometimes, too, that of a woman or a child. Gĕlyómp, as well as tũs and eč, can give a
776 person pest so that he will die. One can catch pest by himself
● 783 everywhere and on all occasions, no matter whether he is awake or
753 asleep. The pest of the three spirits mentioned is primarily caused by stings that not only enter the body, but also the soul. In the spot where they have entered the body they leave punctures that are red in color in the case of gĕlyómp, blue in the case of tũs, and black in the case of eč. The sicknesses caused by gĕlyómp manifest themselves by general pain caused by the penetration of one of his hairs. This happens in the following manner: Someone is
walking along a path and suddenly feels a stinging pain in his arm or some other part of his body, like the prick of a pin. Although
[755] he cannot discover a puncture, the pain remains. The person therefore goes to the teyu, and he is able to remove the cause of the pain by rubbing his herbs over the affected spot until he re-
[761] moves from it a black hair ten to 15 centimeters long. This hair is from the gĕlyómp, and if the shaman had not removed it, the one
[75] afflicted by it would have had to die. To a certain extent one can protect himself from the hairs of the mountain spirit if, when returning home from a walk over the mountains or a night's march, he passes a firebrand over the feet and body, in order to burn off any hair of the gĕlyómp that might have penetrated.

776 Tũs, the "rainbow," lives on the banks of watercourses and
753 especially at springs. There are many tũs, and, to be sure, wherever there is water. There are tũs as large as a snake, colored red and yellow, and others only the size of a finger. People recognize sicknesses /273/ of the tũs by the fact that the afflicted one is covered all over with pimples and has to scratch himself constantly.
[821] If it rains when the sun is shining, tũs goes from the bank of the river, where he lives, into the sky and from there back again to earth in a semicircle. The rainbow is especially dangerous for children.

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(u = nasal) and taff, with which everyone is familiar, although they are not sure about the distinction between the two. The shamans Francisco and Cerbeleón said that the two were the same; but both of them also said that ũns or taff, if they had left the person in his dream and were abroad, could be caught by tũs, eč, or nyic without the person's becoming aware of this immediately, but rather he still went on living. To my objection that in this case ũns and taff were probably different, they did not know how to answer; Cerbeleón stated that if a person dies, his ũns goes to heaven and the person himself becomes taff. He and other teyu were able to catch the ũns of a human being. Thus, for example, if someone had been robbed, he would come to Cerbeleón. The latter takes coca, tobacco, and brandy, and then he can bring forth the ũns of the thief, seize it, and kill it. The thief must then die. In order to get the ũns in his power, he must first cleanse his hands with the herbs šu and vitubĩtskwe, as well as with brandy. The ũns has the form of a small animal, he explained; it can fly and glows and is about three centimeters long. It is very similar to a firefly in appearance, but different from eč.

Having reached this point in his explanation, Cerbeleón grew silent, and our interpreter Victoriano said that we should now have to depart, but quickly. With that he left the house in positive flight, and we were obliged to follow. Outside he explained to us that Cerbeleón was a "mal brujo," a nyic, which, to be sure, he had always suspected before, but just now Cerbeleón had given himself away inasmuch as he had said that he could catch and kill the ũns of human beings. The people of Calderas also say that he possessed herbs that he could put in eggs, chicha, or other food, whereupon people would eat them and then die. One of the sons of Cerbeleón was a thief and had died in the following manner: The one who was robbed had prayed to the Virgen Santisima /Holy Virgin/, and God had punished the thief with death. The father himself, that is, the shaman Cerbeleón, is also a thief and kills people out of envy for their possessions.

The mission sisters confirmed this statement insofar as Cerbeleón had several times attempted to kill them by sprinkling

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769 foods: meat, maize, chicha, brandy, coca, yuca, etc. These gifts are laid on a banana leaf on the floor of the church and a
775 candle is lighted along with it.) The ãhimos, too, can only be seen by shamans.

774 She does not know when and from where a child gets its ũns and taff. She believes that as soon as the heart of the child beats in the mother's womb, the child has ũns; it gets taff only after birth. Animals have no taff; they have ũns only if they devour human beings.

e) Shamanistic Séances

756 Each of the shamanistic séances, be it a treatment of the sick
783 or a ceremony during housebuilding or at a burial, is basically a purification from "pest" and therefore a ceremony of magic practices. All these ceremonies and séances are thus in essence the same. They differ only in details, for example, in the different medicinal herbs or in the order of the various purifications. Let us first give a description of a purification ceremony /277/ by the shaman Martin Chucue after a burial (see Ill. 208 to 213 /see pp. 292-294/).

756 The shaman does not take part in the burial. Moreover, he
764 neither enters the house of a deceased in which the corpse is still
783 present, nor does he accompany a funeral procession to the burial place. The mourners, men, women, and children, go to the burial place together and then return to the house of mourning. Before they may enter it, however, they must go to the river where the shaman awaits them in order to purify them for the first time. Then they go together to the house of mourning, which, however, the purified people may not yet enter, since it is still unclean. The shaman, with his helpers, must first purify the house with the same remedies with which he purified the people, namely, with water to which herbs and cow excrement have been added. After that the people, too, may enter the house and eat and drink.

/277 cont./

The shaman learns the date of the second ceremony and principal purification through his signs from ec̆. He announces this date to those who participated at the burial. Those to be purified -- primarily the nearest relatives -- gather at the river and at a place set apart for this, marked by a number of flat stones. These are absolutely necessary; without stones, no purification site. First the people sit in front of the stones, and the helpers of the shaman fetch calabashes filled with water that is mixed with the s̆u herb and to which some cow excrement, standing ready in a pot at the same place, is added. The shaman has wound a liana around his staff. Even before the ceremony, he chewed coca and tobacco uninterruptedly and drank brandy copiously. First he goes to the left with the staff and liana and beats the air with both, as though he were struggling with invisible spirits. Then, always struggling, he goes in the other directions of the site, and, finally, once more to the left. There his helpers have dug a hole about 30 centimeters deep and 15 centimeters in diameter.

Now the linen of the deceased and the linen of the mourners which they used on the day of burial are brought forth. They are placed on the stones and then washed and rinsed long and vigorously by the widow and the daughter of the deceased.

The rest of the mourners, like the shaman, have been chewing coca the whole time and get brandy to drink from the teyu.

After the washing, the shaman next struggles as before, as though he wanted to drive invisible spirits away from the site of the purification ceremony. With wide sweeping blows he moves his tama /278/ and liana slowly through the air. In particular he turns to the left again, for to the left lives the evil ec̆, and to be sure, in the ground (*).

* The direction left has nothing to do with any geographical direction or with the direction of the river. They sit with their backs to the river.

1: Nachtigall--199 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

/278 cont./

756 Then everybody goes, the shaman last, to the hole on the left
765 side and spits coca into it; then everybody takes brandy and squirts
783 it into the air toward the left. After that those who are to be purified start to undress, and each one takes a seat on one of the stones. The helpers of the shaman bring vast quantities of water -- always mixed with herbs and cow excrement -- in their calabashes, and then the very vigorous washing of the body begins. The water is first poured over the head, then over the body, front and back, so generously that everyone must have at least 25 liters of water run over him. The people themselves rub their bodies very thoroughly. In conclusion the shaman places a few herbs on the head of each one. After that, too, the shaman must again fight his battle with staff and liana in the air and squirt brandy toward the left. Then each one stands up individually and the shaman passes his shaman staff and herbs laterally around him from left to right and from bottom to top. Again and again the shaman and the people drink brandy, which they spit out in the air to the left.

After the ablutions of the mourners, followed by the ablutions of the assistants and the shaman, all sit down again in their old places, opposite the stones. The shaman sits down beside them, the staff stuck in the ground before him, his mouth completely full of coca and tobacco. In addition, at short intervals, he takes a
[787] swallow of brandy. He sits this way for about 20 minutes, chewing
[763] and drinking, and then he says that the signs in his hand are very bad and that soon someone will die. One of the young men present, the nephew of the deceased and helper of the shaman during the purification, asks who is going to die or whether it might even be he himself. The shaman, who has been talking monotonously to himself and keeps staring at one spot, answers, without turning his head, that he does not know who will die. The shaman remains sitting a while longer, constantly chewing coca and drinking brandy, and then he gets up and the people sit down in a row behind the stones, first the men, then the women. The shaman takes herbs in his hands, spits the freshly chewed coca with tobacco on them, and passes this around the bodies of all present, always from the lower left, up the side to the head, and down again on the right side, then up the back

756 /279/ and the front, and at the end he "sucks out," holding one
765 fist over the other, everything dirty, the last remnants of the pest,
● 783 from the body at three places. First, on the right side of the neck in the hollow of the collarbone, then in the middle of the head, and then he passes both hands along the arms from the shoulders down to the finger tips and sucks on the palms of both hands. Then he cleanses himself in the same manner, by passing his hands, filled with herbs, along his entire body from below upward, whereupon he goes to the left, to the hole, sticks his staff into it, and apparently disgorges something from his stomach, aiding this procedure by pressing his hands into the pit of his stomach. Then he vigorously spits into the hole what he has disgorged. After that he once again takes herbs and brandy, as well as coca, into his mouth and likewise spits them into the hole. Now he takes fresh coca, herbs, and brandy, chews this, and spits it on the tip of his staff and passes this over the bodies of all the people, moving first slowly, then faster from below upward, as though he were obliged to press out, from below upward, something inside the body. As he does so, he mutters words that are incomprehensible, and finally, after purifying each person, he hurls the pest, which is hanging on the point of his staff, away from him in a wide arc. He also cleanses the mountain of linen with his staff in the same way. afterwards he again takes coca and lime into his mouth, as well as herbs, among them always su̇̃ in particular, and puts the same thing into the mouths of the people. After that he rubs off his hands with su̇̃, spits brandy on them, and performs the same purification ceremony on the people as before, again passing over their bodies from below upward and finally sucking out the pest from their necks, heads, and hands.

The participants, at the moment of purification, are very serious concerning the matter. In between, however, they laugh and talk, and the men go about their occupation of straw-hat braiding.

After these three purifications in a standing position, a further purification in a sitting position follows, during which the shaman thrusts his staff into the ground in front of each person. After each purification he goes to the hole and spits everything into it

/279 cont./

756 vigorously, then always rinses his mouth with brandy and spits it
765 out in a spray. After this final purification, standing in front of
783 the hole, he moves his staff several times in a circle through the air from below upward and stabs into the hole three times with the tip of his staff, as though he wanted to thrust something corporeal from above into the hole with the staff. Several times /280/ he paces off the entire place, beating with his staff, always starting from the right and squirting brandy to the left about ten times.

To conclude the ceremony, the hole is covered with a stone, and water containing ʂu herbs is poured over it. All the participants spit the herbs given to them by the shaman into a second hole about 50 centimeters away, rinse their mouths vigorously with brandy, and spit this also into the nearby hole. To conclude the ceremony lasting more than four hours, they are all given a swallow of brandy by the shaman and together spit this toward the left.

755 If the teyu is called to a sick person, before the actual treat-
756 ment he must determine the cause of the illness in a special séance. Like all sickness ceremonies, it begins about eight o'clock in the evening and usually ends several hours after midnight. For his séances he uses a specific place (kaci) where, in the presence of the patient, he receives his signs. In cases of serious illness, the treatment may also take place in the house, but then, if possible, ají and salt, things which Thunder does not like, should not be in the vicinity. In cases of particularly serious illness, the shaman may also go to a quiet place, free of human sounds and the barking of dogs, in order to receive his signs there alone.

Before the start of the séance, the patient must give the teyu half a fiber bag full of coca, a bottle of brandy, and a few cigars, since without these things it is impossible for the shaman to receive his signs. He thrusts his staff into the ground, a little to one side, and then he sits down opposite the patient. He now takes his medicinal herbs out of his fiber bag and first makes up two equal little packets of various mixed herbs, each of which he wraps in a maize leaf. With every herb that he takes from his fiber bag, he first makes a pass around his own body in order to stimulate his blood and to receive his signs better. It may already happen here

/280 cont./

755 75c that his signs tell him that his efforts will be in vain, because the patient must die. Only if the signs are favorable, do he and the patient start chewing the little packet of medicinal herbs. The shaman now takes his staff and spits some of the chewed medicinal herbs on it, to prevent the pest sent by nyic from possibly being transferred to him and killing him. Then he thrusts the tama into the ground with the point, in order to announce to Thunder that he does not wish to act badly and carelessly, but exactly in accordance with his shamanistic rules. He sets the bottle of /281/ [824] [787] brandy, into which he puts a stalk of the čayuts herb, beside his shaman's staff. If the stalk remains vertical, it is a good sign; if it falls to one side and goes under, it is a very bad omen. On the mouth of the bottle he also places a small calabash vessel, likewise containing the čayuts herb, which is supposed to prevent the pest from taking the shaman by surprise and killing him. He now puts a handful of coca into his mouth and starts to chew. Motionless, he gazes at his staff, ready to receive his signs. From time to time he takes more coca and lime, tells the patient that his signs are favorable, that his illness, which comes from the pest, will soon get better. Then he gets up, goes to his tama, and vigorously spits out the chew. He empties a whole calabash of brandy and squirts it into the air. Again he returns to his seat, once again takes coca and lime and a little cigar tobacco into his mouth, and again remains squatting motionless. After about an hour he spits the chew in the direction of the staff, the patient does the same, and then both get up. The shaman now tells the • [783] patient that Thunder has shown him the possibility of a cure. He will now go and gather his special medicinal herbs, and for a good purification the patient will have to bring a pound of coca leaves, six cigars, a liter of brandy and chicha, and, in addition, [777] [786] a few pounds of meat. The teyu urgently enjoins him not to take any of the medicine of the whites under any circumstances, for otherwise he must surely die. At this séance, as well as at others, the shamans all agreed that neither did they themselves leave the place of the séance nor did their souls leave their bodies to go wandering. The signs, to which alone they give heed, are the only characteristic of their experience.

/281 cont./

755 On the evening agreed upon for the purification from the pest,
756 the patient brings the shaman the required remedies, and the
783 latter divides everything into two parts, one to carry out the séance
[782] and the other as an offering for Thunder. He first takes the latter portion and goes to a particular place in order to offer it to Thunder. He spits part of the brandy into the air and drinks another part himself, as soon as Thunder has expressed his approval of the purification from the disease and his satisfaction over the gift.

[516] For the purification ceremony the teyu and the patient squat down on the ground next to each other, in the manner customary among the Paez. The teyu thrusts his staff into the ground and sets the brandy bottle beside it. Amid coca-chewing and brandy-drinking the hours flow by, broken only by an occasional spitting out of the chew on the part of the shaman. /282/ Through his signs he gradually learns the cause of the illness and also the necessary remedies, which he now hands over to the patient. He also places on his head a packet containing the same herbs, as protection against the evil ee spirit. The teyu now goes to one side and beats the air with his tama, in order to remove the pest that is present. Then he passes it up the entire body of the patient, beginning at the feet and ending at the head, in order to squeeze out, so to speak, the pest from the body of his patient from below upward. At various parts of the body, the hollow of the collarbone, the neck, and the head, he "sucks" out the pest. Into a hole dug a few meters in front of the place of the ceremony he now spits the contents of his mouth: coca and medicinal herbs, mixed with the pest sucked out of the patient. He then squirts a mouthful of brandy into the air, so that the pest will depart altogether, and drinks a further one himself, so that the pest will not enter his body. Now the patient is called. He must first spit into the same hole the mixture of coca and medicinal herbs which he has chewed the entire time, and then he, too, must take two swallows of brandy; he must squirt one into the air, and he swallows the other one. Further purifications of the patient follow, various herbs being passed over him and the pest being sucked out several times and spat into the hole. In conclusion there follows a bodily cleansing

/282 cont./

755 of the patient with water to which šu and yakúma have been added
756 as medicinal herbs, so that he will now be completely freed of the
783 pest. Finally the teyu asks Thunder to prevent anyone from uncovering this hole in which the dangerous pest is buried. He further asks Thunder to help him in subsequent treatments of the sick later on. The patient is told that the signs are favorable, and he is again enjoined neither to use the medicines of the whites nor ever to pass this hole containing the pest.

751 Besides these two most important shamanistic ceremonies, the
756 treatment of the sick and the purification of the relatives after a
731 burial, the shaman's ability and his magical, supernatural powers are also called upon for preventive ceremonies and acts. This is particularly necessary if epidemics of disease -- smallpox, whooping cough -- occur in the village or in a family. In the first instance, the cabildo asks a shaman who is known to be able to speak with Thunder to conduct the proper protective ceremonies; in the latter instance, /283/ the oldest member of the afflicted family asks him. First a pig must be killed for this. A piece is cut from all the body organs on the left side, and everything is put into a new fiber
[782] bag. The shaman and the cabildo then set out in the afternoon for the lagoon in which Thunder is believed to live, in order to hand over to him the bag with the pieces of meat, with the request to avert the epidemic. During this time the women remaining behind have been preparing the rest of the meat for a meal, which, however, is eaten jointly only when, after twelve hours, the shaman and cabildo return from their ceremony.

756 For several cases of illness and death in one family the help of
783 a good shaman is likewise required. The pest is generally regarded
769 as the cause of these cases of death afflicting only one family, though according to a report by S. Bernal Villa, the deceased and angry members of the family are held responsible for this. In this case the eldest of the family provides brandy, coca, and tobacco, calls together the family members, and asks the shaman to come. The latter offers the angry ancestor spirits a fat pig that has first been tied in front of the house for a whole night, while the shaman during this time speaks to the spirits about whether they will accept the offering.

/283 cont./

It is killed by members of another family, since the ones concerned may not perform any work or activity. The pig is scalded over a hole into which the hair and refuse are thrown. The parts of the pig which the ancestor spirits, through the signs of the shaman, wish as a sacrifice are put into a fiber bag with a wooden stick. During this time the women bake small, flat maize cakes, and, to be sure, as many as there are dead in the family. These are likewise put into the bag, and, in addition, a large quantity of other food. Moreover, small wooden dolls, dressed like living Paez, are carved in the same number as the dead. About 40 meters from the house a grave with a lateral niche is dug, exactly like the one made for deceased persons. In the evening the shaman goes there with the members of the family and performs the ceremonial purification on them. After that the sky becomes covered with thick, black clouds, in the direction of which the teyu spits his medicinal herbs. After two hours the clouds move off toward the left and bring into view the starry sky. Now the shaman lays the dolls (as representations of the spirits of the dead) into the lateral niche of the grave, sets a wax candle beside them, and blows his medicinal herbs over them. With a /284/ stone he closes off the lateral niche and then places the bag with the food into the pit. After the latter has again been filled with earth, he proceeds to a renewed purification of the members of the family, which is undertaken a third time in the house and at the same time on the helpers in the pig-slaughtering and the baking. In conclusion one half of the pig is now eaten jointly, whereas the other half belongs to the shaman as remuneration.

A further important shamanistic ceremony is undertaken when a new house is built. On this occasion the teyu, in dedication, spits his herbs on the future fire area of the house and digs a small hole into which he places the herbs šu and šulape. On a small pile of wood he burns other herbs, the ashes of which he carries out of the house. Now he lights a new fire, in which he roasts a young maize ear and gives it to a dog to eat. If the latter does not die, this is regarded as a sign that no pest exists here any longer and the occupants may confidently live here. If this were not the case, they would be obliged to leave the house.

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241 The following ceremony before the first harvest of a newly
756 cleared field should also be understood in the same sense as
783 all the shamanistic séances of the Paez, namely, as a purification
[273] from pest or to ward it off. The owner, taking along coca, chicha,
[276] and brandy, goes to the field with the members of his family and
[824] the teyu. The latter first sprinkles the field with water to which
[782] herbs have been added and then distributes small packets of medicinal herbs to all present. He now takes a sample from each type of produce and makes a bundle out of this, in order to offer it to Thunder. After this gift, the owner harvests a fiber bag full of each type of produce and carries it home. He sets down all the bags beside one another in front of the left side of the entrance, and then the shaman spits his herbs over them, in order to cleanse them of the pest, which, without this ceremony, would otherwise [782] have been carried into the house. After the products have been cooked, they are given to the shaman, who distributes one product to each of those present and offers the rest as a gift to Thunder, who, in turn, gives everything back to the shaman.

754 A good shaman does not know any herbs or other means to
756 harm people or to kill them. Such acts are the mark of the nyic.
According to what we heard, however, the boundary between good and bad shamans is not very sharply drawn; each could also carry out the activity of the other, even though Thunder -- people are convinced -- does not lend his help to a nyic, so that the latter is
578 dependent solely on his bad and wicked agents. /285/ There is a
754 constant struggle between the teyu and the nyic, not openly to be
756 sure, but in secret. The teyu constantly feel pursued by the evil machinations of the nyic, and one who relaxes his attention for only a moment will be killed by them. In this struggle the one who is the stronger magically has prospects of victory; but since the nyic do not openly announce their successes over the good shamans, one can learn only of the victories of the teyu over the evil shamans. Thus a shaman from Santa Rosa relates that in his youth he was very treacherous and underhanded and was already familiar with many agents. One day a nyic, who had already

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Ills. 208 and 209. Ritual purification after a burial.

1: Nachtigall--292 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

1: Nachtigall--293 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ills. 210 and 211. Sucking out the "pest."

1: Nachtigall--294 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 212. The shaman spits the "pest" into a hole.

Ill. 213. The shaman fights the spirits with staff and liana.

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/229 cont./

75 from time to time he puts in more coca and more mambe,
[276] which he takes from a small calabash (kuetand tuka), pours on his right fist, and throws with force into his mouth. He watches. Sorcerers work systematically to send him the ptans, and they must not catch him unprepared. The signs warn him as to when he must blow the chew in order to contain the ptans.

He tells the patient that the signs are favorable; there will be an immediate improvement. The pains which assail him are due to the ptans which he has from the vertex to the nape.

After 20 minutes in a motionless and expectant state, the curer stands up with his face raised, as though illuminated, walks jauntily to the tama, blows the chew violently; he fills the small gourd with aguardiente and tosses it into the air. This is the invitation to Thunder.

He returns again to his place, takes a cigar and crushes more than half of it, puts more mambe in his mouth, and remains quiet, his hands folded and his arms resting on his knees. Only the deepness of the night with its characteristic sounds disturbs this decisive moment. No carelessness. It might have fatal consequences. He remains in this position for about 40 minutes.

Then he takes the chew from his mouth with his hand and tosses it in the direction of the tama, after having passed it around his body. The patient does likewise. He immediately tells the sick man that he must return with all the remedies. He interrupts his work. Thunder has shown himself to be
75 favorable. Since the patient has ptans, a good "cleansing"
● 783 must be done, for which he must bring three pounds of meat to be eaten after the cleansing, chicha, one pound of coca, one liter of aguardiente, and six cigars. The curer himself must
[177] go to the lagoon in search of the remedies. He advises the patient that for a period of three months at least he must not use the drugs of the whites, for if he did so, he would die.

The cleansing of the ptans. At 7:00 P.M. the patient comes to the house of the curer. He hands over the medicines

/229 cont./

75 requested. /230/ He divides the aguardiente into two bottles:
●713 one for Thunder and the other to drink. In Thunder's bottle he
[712] places a sprig of chayuts, after passing it around his body; the sprig remains floating and vertical, a good omen. He puts the coca in a special pouch, along with the aguardiente and cigars. He makes up two bundles of remedies with maize husks. One is for the patient, to chew and swallow the juice.

75 He divides the other bottle, takes chayuts, passes it around
713 his body, puts it in the small calabash, fills it with aguardiente, and goes out of the house to toast Thunder. Then he gathers his pouches of remedies, a calabash of chicha, the patient's coca, a candle, and matches, and he goes to the divination site. When Thunder comes, he will ask the curer what the patient has presented to him. The he will show him the chicha and aguardiente. Thunder, satisfied, will say: "Take this, since you received it." They will drink together. Thunder's share will be tossed into the air. The patient must remain inside the house. When the time comes, he will call him for the "cleansing."

75 Outside, the night is black as ebony. The silhouette of
713 the curer is barely visible. He sits under the eaves to the south of the house. He begins to chew the remedies after passing them around his body. He drives in the tama and beside it he places the bottle of aguardiente. Immediately after this, seated, almost squatting, with his hand folded, quiet and motionless, gazing into space, grave, self-controlled, conscious of his mission, imbued with his knowledge, he spends long hours conversing with Thunder and warding off the attacks of sorcerers. From time to time he gets up without haste, slowly, as slowly as the passing of the hours of the night, and he beats with the tama, displaying the energy that marks the activities of the curer. The patient, lying on a cowhide, with no covering other than his own clothes, sleeps near the fire; he wakes up at different times, pierced by the intense cold of the night; outside he hears the constant, rhythmic, regular, vigorous blowings of the medicine man.

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●783 At two in the morning, or rather, at the first cock's crow, the tẽ eu calls the patient. The moon is full; the night seems white. The sick man sits to the right of the curer. He receives a bundle of remedies to chew. They are yacuma blanca, ul fiñi, ñundayuskei, shugues, chandur, guepeyuskei. They help with the cleansing, and when spat out they will remove the "dirt" (ptans).

/231/ He places chayuts on the patient's crown in order to ward off any possible attack by the Echi. He advises him again not to use the remedies of the whites and, in case there is no improvement, always to return to the curer.

The curer passes to the right of the patient, about three meters. He points at him with the tama and blows out chewed coca and aguardiente in order to contain the black cloud (ptans) which may come at any moment. He comes to the patient and rubs him (cleanses him) with the tama, beginning with the right foot and continuing along this side; at the crown he rubs several times, sucks (absorbs the "dirt") for five or six breaths, rubs again; he lowers the tama to the throat, rubs, sucks the right shoulder, rubs again, and passes the tama to the nape of the neck, where he repeats the process; he ends up by bringing the tama down the left side. Over a hole dug previously to the left of the curer and about 15 meters away, he spits out everything that he had in his mouth and the dirt that he collected from the patient; he vomits; he blows one mouthful of aguardiente into the air, dismissing the "dirt," and drinks one so that the "dirt" will not enter again. He calls the patient, orders him to spit out the remedies that he has chewed, and hands him the bottle to measure out two drafts: one to be blown into the air and the other to be swallowed. He covers up the hole carefully. Curer and patient return to their places.

The tẽ eu takes a good handful of shu and tashú, dips it in water in spite of the fact that it is quite damp, and goes to the patient. He begins the cleansing by going upward from the right foot. At the crown of the head, throat, and the nape of

/231 cont./

75 the neck, he exerts some pressure and the icy water runs down
●783 the body. He goes down the left side and then goes to the hole to bury these remedies. With these remedies the body absorbs coolness. After having buried them, he blows aguardiente into the air and then drinks some more.

Once more at his place, he gives the patient a few herbs (shu and siempre viva?) to hold in his hand. He goes to the right of the patient and from there points to him with the tama and blows; he draws nearer, and he makes the familiar passes with the tama and the remedies named. He rubs the crown of the head (vertex), throat, and the nape of the neck.

[782] They go to the hole and toss the herbs into the hole. The curer takes a mouthful of aguardiente, stretches the tama toward the horizon, rises proudly, sets his eyes in the direction of the tama, blows violently several times, and soon his atti-
[191] tude becomes entreating. /232/ Actually, he prays in Spanish: "Lord, help us; I implore you for everyone." The té eu said later that he had prayed to Thunder, so that he would help him and would not permit the sorcerer to discover this hole where the "dirt" was buried. He drank a swallow. The patient blows a mouthful of aguardiente into the air and drinks a second one. They return to their places. The curer picks up the calabash of chicha, goes to the hole, and pours it out. It is a gift to Thunder.

Once more in his place, he puts yacuma, shu, and tashú into a calabash of cold water. He goes to the patient's right and from there sprinkles this water first on the house and then on the patient, who first removed his hat by order of the curer. This is a veritable bath, so that if any ptans should remain, it would be removed and he would be completely clean. The remaining water is poured into the hole. He blows aguardiente and drinks some more, the patient proceeding in the same way. The curer raises the tama and implores: "I pay you; I shall pay you." The curer said that he had spoken as follows:

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713 "There are all the remedies that you pointed out to me. If another patient comes, help me." Then he pours out all the aguardiente as a toast to Thunder.

With this, the cleansing is over. It is 3:30 in the morning.

He advises the patient not to change the remedies and not to take a route below that hole. He states that the signs are favorable and that he asked God for the patient's improvement.

To summarize, the cleansing of the ptans is done at night, beginning at 8:00 or 9:00 P.M. and ending at 3:00 P.M. /sic/ approximately. The following procedure is observed:

1. The patient must give to the curer two eggs of coca, one bottle of aguardiente, and two cigars.

2. The curer puts these remedies in a special pouch. He makes up a few bundles of remedies with yacuma blanca, ul ñiñ, ñundayuskei, bitopiskue, chandur de castilla, chayuts (Santa Rosa), or yacuma, chayuts, tayuskei, shugues, tatse, echiutse (Calderas). All of these remedies are passed around the body of the curer.

3. At the Kachí, he places the tama and aguardiente in a special spot, hands over to the patient a bundle of remedies for chewing, and puts chayuts (Santa Rosa) or guepekás (Calderas) on his own and the patient's vertex (crown).

4. The first cleansing is done with the tama, by rubbing and by sucking the vertex, the right shoulder, and the nape of the neck, in order to remove /233/ the ptans and spit it out into a hole to bury it. There is blowing and the drinking of aguardiente by curer and patient.

5. The same procedure is followed with the wet remedies (shu, tashũ) to lend coolness to the body.

6. A new cleansing is carried out with other herbs (shu and siempre viva?) with the rubbings and the suckings at the places mentioned, the burying of them, and the blowing and drinking of aguardiente. In Santa Rosa, this is the moment when the curer makes his entreaty.

/233 cont./

7. The curer toasts Thunder with the chicha, sprinkling it in the air.

8. The curer washes the patient with a calabash of remedies. He fills up completely the hole that contains the "dirt," sprinkles the remaining aguardiente, and ends the cleansing with some final advice. It is 3:00 or 4:00 in the morning.

All treatment of illness is carried out with this cleansing procedure. That is to say, when the impurity (ptans) has been removed from the body, the health of the patient is restored. The curer combats the ptans. In a sense, the cleansing is a hard fight in which the curer is engaged.

The tama. The tama is a chonta staff about 40 centimeters long and indispensable for every cure.

While in other cultures the medicine man uses the maraca as an indispensable accessory in the art of curing, viewing it as having a mythical origin and thus a sacred character and magical properties, and while, according to Roth, certain piai of the Guianas use wooden dolls in their conjurations (6), among the Paez this little staff called tama is used. In Santa Rosa, a curer-sorceress uses in her treatments a wooden dolly dressed like the people, received, according to the informant, from Thunder himself, and called "Soft wind of Thunder."

According to all the evidence, this name is derived from that mythical personage, more precisely that culture hero,

6. Métraux, Alfred. Le Shamanisme Chez les Indiens de l'Amerique du Sud Tropicale /Shamanism among the Indians of Tropical South America/." -- Acta Americana, Vol. II, No. 3, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1944, pp. 217-218.

/234 cont./
756 papa had told him to defend himself with it and in case of ill-
539 ness to take the remedies that he had given him. He extracted their juice and took it. He rapidly improved. He applied them to others and noted that they soon regained their health. With the tama and the remedies he became the best curer in the entire region. He died when he was an old man"

755 To combat ptans, the tama is used in conjunction with a
756 plant called "nica."

824 Theory of illness. Sicknesses are caused by the state of
753 bodily impurity called "dirt" /sucio/, cold /hielo/, or /235/
783 ptans. The causes are essentially magical and are interpreted more as a premeditated and inimical attack than as punishment by supernatural beings. There are those who state that sicknesses are sent by God, but if one repents, they are soon taken away. Be it said at once that this concept is neither general nor rooted in tradition. Sicknesses, then, do not have natural causes; nor do accidents, since they are provoked by sorcerers.

Impurities are caused by the following:

a) When a person who has been at a wake has not had himself "cleansed."

b) When people dress in the clothes of a deceased person without washing them with the appropriate remedies.

c) When the house where the corpse was watched over has not been cleansed.

d) When a woman does not spend her period of menstruation in the Du yate léchukue.

e) When a woman does not bathe after menstruation.

f) When the placenta has not been suitably buried in the appropriate place and with the required remedies.

g) When a man sleeps with a menstruating woman.

h) When the man who serves food to a menstruating woman has not bathed his body or washed his clothes.

i) When the woman, after observing the diet of childbirth, does not bathe.

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753 783 j) When there is no blowing of remedies while at the montañas, bogs, or lagoons.

k) When there is no blowing of remedies prior to cutting wood for bridges, sugar mills, and canoes.

l) When, at the inauguration of a rancho or house, the house ceremonies have not been performed.

ll) When the house has been built over a Pijao "huaca," or when they merely come across one while working the land.

m) When the traditional ceremonies are not performed upon harvesting a new clearing.

754 753 783 n) Through the machinations of the sorcerers. These kill the most people, for they not only send the pest to persons, but also to the entire community. On the other hand, they provoke /236/ the Ghost, Rainbow, and Echi to anger and also do sorcery at the request of jealous or vengeful persons. The sorcerers have unlimited power.

Hernández de Alba, speaking of illness, generalizes in these words:

"Sickness was always thought to be caused by witchcraft or by someone's will. The evil force entered the body and made it impure; it had to be expelled or "cleansed," lest death ensue. If a delirious person told who was killing him, the individual mentioned was thought guilty; or, if, after a death, the face of the deceased should appear to somebody, [834] the person was considered responsible. These beliefs are still [821] in force today, and the Indians avoid the causes of sickness, [765] such as having sexual intercourse wit /sic/ a menstruating woman, exposing the body to bad weather while there is a rainbow, and neglicting /sic/ to bathe after a burial or to purify a house where a death ocurred /sic/" /cited in English/ (7).

7. Hernández de Alba, Gr. 1946, p. 955. See also Pittier de Fábrega, H. 1907, p. 325.

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755 783 Since sicknesses have a magical origin, the treatments are also magical in character. "The cleansing" is indispensable in every treatment, with its attendant remedies and movements.

165 164 Symptoms of sicknesses. Among the sicknesses clearly identifiable by the natives are smallpox and whooping cough, given their characteristic symptoms. Some of the informants, not many, to be sure, state that their children died of such sicknesses.

165 761 776 On the whole, child mortality, which is rather high, is said to be caused by, in order of frequency and in generic terms, pest, Echi, and sorcery. The cases of death by the ghost and rainbow are few.

753 776 The symptomatologies given for the sicknesses are very vague and even confused with one another. The Echi, ghost, and rainbow sting, not really the body, but the soul, leaving hairs in the body that cause fevers and sharp pains at the spot where they are found. These hairs, when placed in the palm of the hand, move as if they were alive. They differ in color: the red ones are from Kallumb, the reddish blue ones from [755] the rainbow, and the black ones from Echi. The hairs are re- [783] moved by rubbing with remedies prior to the cleansing.

/237/ It is said that the sting of pallumb /sic/ causes heaviness, lack of appetite, pains in the head and body, fever, and even insanity.

753 776 824 When the arco /literally "bow"/, called kitús, is referred to, it is nothing other than the rainbow, which comes out at any hour of the day, accompanied by a rainy drizzle, the "rainbow meow," which causes scabies (chande) in children [755] when it falls upon them; it is not harmful for adults. The curers, [789] and they alone, from their ranchos blow chewed remedies toward it, tobacco, chandur, flushamuanda, and yacuma [755] negua, in order to make it disappear quickly. Other people chew remedies, when they have them at hand, and rub them on their bodies. There is a general idea that the rainbow causes

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753 cramps in the body, and furthermore that sorcerers see it in the
776 form of a turkey impelled to peck people.
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It seems obvious that what the Indians call Echimbe (red
753 Echi) or candelilla fina /thin glowworm/ is a firefly /luciérnaga/
825 somewhat difficult to capture and extremely fierce. They differentiate it perfectly well from the fire beetle /cocuyos (cucuyos)/. They say that it is an animal that God produced in
[755] order to harm the Christians. The curers call them and catch them in their Kachí, while other Indians, chewing coca, catch them anywhere and bring them to the curer to be buried.
[774] They believe that their fierceness is due to the fact that the
[829] souls of the Pijao are incarnated in them.

753 The symptoms of the sting of Echi are vague and imprecise and refer solely to bodily pains.

The symptoms of Pijao "dirt" are recognized by respiratory difficulties.

164 They differentiate perfectly well the venereal diseases,
757 which seem to be quite widespread in the acculturated parcialidades. In Calderas they are said to have spread widely among both sexes, without respect to age, and to have been treated with copper sulphate, for the remedies of the Indians were of no use. In Santa Rosa antibiotics are used. A curer in that parcialidad maintains that those diseases were brought from La Plata by wandering women and that it befell him to treat two cases: one was serious and the patient died; the second, not very advanced, he treated with yukchacha, montaña barbasco, and fisa (bitopat or bodoquero). He administered the juice for six days and subjected the patient to a diet of chicken exclusively.

755 Remedies. The remedies used by the Paez curer are
757 vegetal. As a rule they are prescribed in combination. Thus:
/238/ To clean away the ptans:
[783] Yacuma blanca, µl ñiñ, ñundayuskei, shugues, chandur, guepeyuskey, chayuts.

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Native Name	Spanish Name	Scientific Name	Use
Chandur	. . .	?	Cooling. Used to clean away ptans. There are two varieties. The large one is called: flusha.
Esh	Coca	Erythróxydon /Erythroxylon/ coca.	Boiled roots and leaves: colic and diarrhea.
Bichach	Caucho /rubber/	Hevéa?	Leaves roasted in embers for fractures, dislocations, contusions. The dry leaf is removed and placed on cabuya tops for rapid healing.
Chulco	Chulco	Oxális sp.	Against smallpox.
Chayuts*	Contento, Alegría /sesame/	Scutellaria racemosa Per.	Panacea of the Paez.

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Native Name	Spanish Name	Scientific Name	Use
Limoncillo	Limoncillo	Cymbopógon citrátus.	Infusion with panela and aguardiente against coldness for a woman in childbirth. Also used against diarrhea.
Nica	?	?	For combatting ptans. For hair of ghost.
/240/ Ñundayuskei	Pateperro	?	Against ptans. The juice for diarrhea; with tobacco, for stomach-ache. The water from this for toothache; spit out half the candle /candela/ to help allay the illness.
Shu•	?	Sphagnum sp.	For combatting ptans.
Shugués•	?	Peperomia sp.	For cleaning away ptans.

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Native Name	Spanish Name	Scientific Name	Use
Shulape	?	?	Against echi and for coughing.
Shupeñiñ*	?	Peperomia sp.	Echi and whooping cough.
Siempreviva		?	Tied to the head it allays pain.
Muahi	Tabaco	Nicotiana tabacum L.	With coca, it makes the "signs" circulate. Crushed, it checks hemorrhages. For combatting ptans.
Tap.	?	?	See Bichach.
Tatsé	?	?	For coughing; to restrain the pulse (us) when a child is frightened. Against ptans.
Tayuskei*		Peperomia sp.	For infections of the umbilicus. Whooping cough.

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Native Name	Spanish Name	Scientific Name	Use
Ul fin*	Culebrina, pepa de arco, monito almizclillo	Hibiscus abelmoschus L.	Ptans, echi, rainbow.
Yacuma blanca		?	Ptans.
Umsim*	Yacuma negra	Myrcia acuminata DC. Vell aff.	Against the rainbow.
Yuskei*		Scleria cattarinensis Boeck.	Ptans

824 The plants marked with an asterisk were identified by the
[128] Herbario Nal. Colombiano, in particular by Dr. Jesús M.
[137] Idrobo.

[127] For the others, we were guided by the work, Plantas Utiles de Colombia /Useful Plants of Colombia/, by Dr. E. Pérez Arbeláez, published by the Imprenta Nacional de Bogotá in 1947.

75 The té eu and the community. In every culture, medicine
182 performs an eminently humanitarian function. Its nature is
171 sociological. No matter what its methods may be, its purpose is to save human lives. It combats illness, but also prevents it.

75 Among the Paez, medicine cures and prevents. The
182 community and the family perform special ceremonies intended to achieve these two purposes of medicine.

755 When the pest (epidemic) has spread through the com-
*756 munity, threatening its subsistence, the authorities (cabildo)
182 invite the curer to conjure away the danger by performing the
[731] wé ká.

When the illness prevails in a single family, markedly decreasing its members, the eldest invites the curer to perform
[765] the ut ká. After every burial the people must remove the ptans
● [783] from their bodies and from the house where the death occurred. The curer is the only one who can do this.

241 The first fruits of plantings made on new lands not culti-
*756 vated before cannot be consumed until the curer has performed
783 the cleansing ceremonies. Thus, it is the curer who defends
182 the family -- preservation of the species -- who purifies the
789 harvests -- preservation of the individual -- and who also defends the community, warding off by means of his conjurations
*756 the epidemics and the individuals who threaten it. In 1952,
789 before an imminent attack by subversive armed groups on the
182 Parcialidad of Santa Rosa, the curer warded it off with maní de montaña /literally, "montaña peanut"/, chewed and blown on the path by which they were to come.

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731 Since the ceremonies mentioned have some differential
755 aspects, we shall look at them in detail.
* 756 Wé ká (pest-send). When the pest appears in a community,
● 783 smallpox, whooping cough, which are rapidly finishing off
/242/ the population, the cabildo takes the initiative for conjuring away the danger. It requests from the people coca, tobacco, and aguardiente, they arranges for a pig and invite a famous curer who can talk to Thunder. From the edge of a lagoon, by means of good remedies and the help of Thunder, the curer must ward off the pest.

[782] They sacrifice the pig. From its left side they take a small piece from all the organs and place them in a new pouch. They gather glowworms (Echis) and go to the lagoon. The retinue made up of the curer and the cabildo leaves at three in the afternoon, and twelve hours later they will be back at the point of departure. Meanwhile, the women have been busy preparing the meat, without eating a single piece of it. They have not slept either, for they have an obligation to wait for the retinue wide-awake. When they arrive, the meat and stew are distributed, and the chicha and aguardiente are drunk. With this the people are relieved and the pest is banished from the community.

* 755 Ut ká ("dirt"-send). This is exclusively a family affair.
756 When the members of a family are dying, there is ptans, says
783 an informant, while another one thinks, with more reason, that it is the angry spirits of the dead who want to finish off the family. In such a case, the eldest of the survivors arranges for coca, aguardiente, and tobacco, gathers the family members together, and calls the curer.

[787] The latter divines up to eight or ten nights. He captures up to 12 glowworms. He asks for a castrated and fat pig. He ties it up for an entire night and divines as to whether the souls of the dead members of the family will accept it. At dawn he orders it killed. The slaughterers, the chicha-makers, the carriers of the sugar cane, and the women cooks are not

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755 members of the family, that is to say, they do not carry the
* 756 surname of those who are performing Ut ká. None of them
● 783 may work, not even at making hats or pouches.
[461] The hog is skinned and washed over a hole; the hair and offal in general must fall there. When Ut ká is not being performed, the hog is skinned in a trough. Meanwhile, the curer divines as to how much meat is wanted by the souls. The latter specify the quantity, and the té eu translates it on a small stick, which is immediately passed to the slaughterers, who must cut out the pieces in accordance with this measure and put them into a pouch. The curer drinks aguardiente and also has assistants who help in perceiving the signs.

[252] /243/ The women prepare the maize for "mute" /stewed
[262] corn/, make small tortillas, as many as there are souls of the dead in the family. They also prepare every kind of fruit and food, plantains, arracacha, bread, yuca, bananas, granadillas, cucumbers, maize, eggs, meats, etc., to protect them against the ptans. They put a little piece of the foods into the pouch.

755 They also prepare some wooden dolls, in a number equal
* 756 to that of the dead. They dress them like Indians: hat, poncho,
783 trousers, shirt. About 40 meters from the house they dig a
532 grave just as they do to bury the dead: a rectangular cavity with a lateral chamber. The curer weighs out two eggs of coca, picks up two cigars and a bottle of aguardiente. At about eight at night all those from the family leave, except those who are not. The cleansing is about to be performed. Then black clouds, like balls, gather. The curer blows remedies toward them. After two hours, the clouds go toward the left, clearing the horizon and leaving the stars visible in the immensity of space. The curer proceeds with the burial. In the lateral chamber of the tomb he places the dolls (representations of the souls) and a candle of laurel wax, after blowing the remedies at them. He closes up the chamber with a stone and then puts in the glowworms and the pouch of food.

½ [i.e. the family members--Analyst]

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*755 He fills the grave[1] with earth and proceeds with the cleansing
758 of the members of the family. They return home. All the
●783 workers come out, and again he cleanses all of them. Only then can they go inside. The women have all the food prepared with half of the pig, for the other half belongs to the curer. Chicha and aguardiente are drunk and then the food is served. When dawn breaks, the usual liquors are being consumed. The curer leaves and other people take charge of bringing him his provision. The curer receives it, gives thanks, and hangs it outside the house. He can eat it only when he has killed more glowworms.

With this the Ut ká is finished and the pest has been warded off from the family.

*756 Ut peu ("dirt"-wash). Immediately after the burial, and
764 on the bank of a river or a spring, the washing of the clothes
783 and the cleansing of the people are done. The curer prepares three calabashes of remedies made up of (1) water and cow dung, (2) with rue, bitopiskue, flundayuskei, dachak (curíbano /Scleria floribunda/), crushed, and (3) with shu and shulape.

/244/ With these, and in the order given, the people wash their clothes and their bodies. The clothes of the deceased are washed by the heirs.

The curer, after washing his own feet with the same remedies, remains seated, perceiving the signs. He then prepares another calabash of remedies with shú, shulape, and yuskei, for washing the hands of all those present.

He starts cleansing the people, who are seated on stones. The curer goes to the left and comes from there, beating with the tama. On reaching the first person to be cleansed, he performs the same acts already mentioned, doing the same with the others. He vomits the sucked-out "dirt" into a hole, where the people also cast their chew of coca, tobacco, and yuskei. Then the medicine man washes his hands with aguardiente and the remedy previously prepared. Everyone

[1] [i.e. the grave into which the dolls as representations of the souls, have been placed -- Analyst]

/244 cont./
takes two swallows: they blow one into the air and they drink the second one. What remains is sprinkled into the air. Those present are lined up in a row, and the curer again beats with the tama, first around the front part and then around the back part. He casts the collected dirt into the hole, covers it with a stone, and tamps down the earth. Now the people, clean of ptans, go to the house of the deceased.

Yat put (house-blown). After the ceremony of the Ut Peu, all the people go to the house of the deceased, which they do not enter until the blowing of the house has been done. Everyone who was in the house comes out. The curer prepares the same three calabashes of remedies which he used in the Ut Peu. He pours out the calabash of water-diluted cow-dung at the spot where the corpse lay, doing the same with the second one. With the third, that is to say, the one made up of shu and shulape, he sprinkles the entire house (patio, walls, rooms, roof). With this the people can go in and its occupants will continue to live. Dr. Hernández de Alba describes the cleansing as follows:

"A month after the death, a shaman purifies the house. The relatives and Friends kill a pig, cut it lengthwise in two halves, one for the shaman, the other for the ceremonial banquet. The shaman sweeps the house floor with the pig's legs and some special branches, with /sic/ are later buried. He chews coca, says some unintelligible words, and spites /sic/ leaves on the house walls. The residents and guests then enter the house for the final proof of purification. The shaman, standing in the center of the house, gives a dog half a tortilla. If the dog does not die, he divides the /245/ others /sic/ half among those present. He does the same with a piece of cooked meat, and if the dog still does not die, he bdows /sic/ chicha in all directions in the hut, and then divides what remains with those present. The hut and food are then declared clean. The food is then eaten and much chicha drunk" /cited in English/ (8).

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*765 756 ●783 [113] 8. See: "Mitología y Cuentos de la Parcialidad de Calderas, Tierradentro /Mythology and Tales from the Parcialidad of Calderas, Tierradentro/," Revista Colombiana de Antropologia, 1953.

[114] This type of cleansing has not been confirmed by any informant, curer or layman, young or old, male or female, from the Parcialidades of Santa Rosa, San Andrés, Calderas, Togoima, Avirama, or Mosoco.

342 796 *756 [241] Conjuration of the new rancho. To protect their fields from the voracity of wild animals, they build a small rancho. Before occupying it, they perform the following conjuration. The curer blows remedies in the center of the rancho where the hearth will be. He digs a hole and buries shu and shulape. He makes a fire and casts fiundayuskei and bitopiskue into it. He gathers up all the ashes and throws them outside the rancho. He revives the fire again and roasts a green ear of maize, which is given to a dog to eat. If the dog does not die, it is a sign that there is no pest there and the owners can occupy it. In the opposite case they must abandon it. In Santa Rosa the Té eu eats the ear of maize.

This same ceremony is performed upon beginning a house. They give the dog roasted maize since it is not the season for green ears. Then they drink chicha and aguardiente.

241 *756 E huse uña (clearing-eat). The harvesting of the crops from new clearings must be initiated by the curer. The owner of the field provides coca, tobacco, and aguardiente and invites the curer. The entire family goes to the field.

The té eu prepares a calabash of remedies based on Chayuts, shugues, tayuskei, echiutse, ul fiñi, tatse. He sprinkles the clearing with this. He distributes as many bundles of remedies as there are persons present, for them to chew, to swallow the juice, and to rub their bodies with the remainder.

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241 As soon as the curer has collected one fruit of every species to
756 be harvested, he makes up a bundle as an offering to the Ghost,
[782] since he is the owner of the earth.

[776] When this offering has been made, the owners harvest a pouch of each crop sown. They go home and /246/ put the pouches side by side in the left part of the entrance door for
● [783] the curer to blow remedies again. Without this requisite, the pouches of food could not be brought into the house because they might carry the pest. The women begin to cook them. When the time for eating comes, the curer first passes around a cup of aguardiente with yuskei and bitopiskue. When there are potatoes, they are handed over to the curer after they are cooked. He distributes one specimen to everyone present; what remains is handed to the owner, who in turn gives generously to the curer.

If the first fruits are of maize or beans, the following is done:

With the green ears of maize, "loaves" /bollos/ or "wrappers" /envueltos/ are prepared; with the beans, a large bundle is made. Then the ears of maize, the bundle of beans, and the loaves are cooked. Aside from this, there is a pot of stew with chicken to provide for the curer.

The cooked ears of maize, beans, and loaves are assembled in a trough, and the cook distributes to all those present a sample of each type. Everyone eats, taking care to leave a little of each mouthful, which they pass to the curer. The latter makes a pile, ties it up, and hangs it from the ridge of the house so that the field seed which is being harvested will yield abundant fruit in the following year.

The husks of the ears of maize are piled outside the house, where the curer remains for one night with the object of capturing glowworms and killing them.

776 Assisting spirits. Thunder. All the informants state that Thunder is short in stature, about 1.40 meters, wears a large hat of twigs, underdrawers, a black poncho, tama, and pouch

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75 month went by, and we were unable to catch it. We did not
539 sleep. The curer would make another hole, and another. We
774 were tired. 'We shall catch that scoundrel /254/ yet,' he would say to me. When we went on to the seventh hole, at the crowing of the first cock, the soul came. The curer had his tama ready, and at once, zoom! he gave it a blow and it fell into the hole; he tossed earth on top of it and tamped it down well. After a few moments the soul made a whistling sound. 'We killed it,' the curer exclaimed triumphantly. I saw the sorcerer's soul. Then the curer told me to go back, for I was cured. He advised me to take remedies with me, since there are many robbers along the way. Thus it came to pass. I was careful at the dangerous spots. The signs indicated to me the presence of robbers and at once I blew remedies at
* them (kit sust). They went to sleep.

756 Farther on I met some people who were pursuing a criminal.
539 They gave me coca and aguardiente so that I might prepare
789 the remedies at my house and help to capture the criminal. Thus it came to pass. I put chayuts around my feet and the criminal was unable to walk. They caught him."

75 Others say that the one bewitched, with his relatives,
774 goes to the curer, bearing coca, tobacco, and aguardiente. They kill a pig and put a piece from each organ into a small pouch. This is the grease for catching the sorcerer's soul. At the crowing of the first cock, when everyone is chewing coca, the soul comes to get the small pouch, immediately falls into the hole, and the curer tosses upon it fierce echi, remedies, and the chews of all, and covers it and tamps down
● [783] the earth. This is how he kills the sorcerer. He immediately cleanses the sick person and his relatives. The danger has
* been averted.

756 When the curer feels the signs at the crown of his head,
717 ptans is being sent to him. He goes without delay to the kachí
783 with pringamoza, paramo cabuya, tama, and ñica to wait

/254 cont./
for it. If a black cloud draws near, he cuts it with the tama. It is the ptans.

The relations between these two men, on whose activities a great part of the security of the group rests, are not cordial; they are relations of latent and permanent aggression. The sorcerers wait for carelessness on the part of the curer. If they catch him asleep, they kill him at once. The sorcerers use pieces of glass to put an end to the wisdom of the Te eu, that is to say, to the signs. They can call sicknesses, combine all the pests, and send them to another parcialidad or to the curer himself so that they will kill.

When a té eu meets a sorcerer, they barely greet each other; at night he takes every precaution.

The curers can accuse a sorcerer before the cabildo, but they are afraid to do so.

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Chapter II

Nasa Jihí

The vision that decides a destiny. Just as a té eu needs to see visions in order to decide on his vocation, the sorcerer also decides by means of visions. For example, if in the beak of a bird there is seen a donkey with open mouth into which mosquitoes fly, or simply pigs, the person is fated to become a sorcerer. These visions are personal and usually occur in isolated spots, such as ravines or bogs, where animals cannot come, on any day or at any hour, for this can take place in the daytime or at night.

When a person claims to have seen a donkey, people say that he is going to eat people. It is commonly stated that those who like to walk about at night are more likely to become sorcerers, for they have the opportunity to meet with evil spirits.

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754 To facilitate the capture of the soul, the sorcerer gathers
774 the soil on which the victim has trod, with which the us (heart) falls easily.

754 b) The sorcerer can make angry the Ghost, Rainbow, and
776 Echi. Thus:

For the Ghost, he puts a large ají de montaña (Capsicum sp.) at the spot where he lives; the person passes by and dies of a few stings in the heart.

/260/ For the Rainbow, he puts the rags of a menstruating woman in springs, bogs, damp places. A person passes by, is stung, and dies.

For the echi, he puts remedies where the victim works; stung, he vomits blood and dies on the spot.

754 c) Another way to cast a spell is rubbing bad remedies on the salt, pork, or eggs that the victim is going to eat. If by chance someone else eats them, nothing happens, for the witchcraft was not directed against him.

[783] d) The sorcerers handle the pest as they please. They can send it to persons or to the entire community. The sorceress Felisa brings the pest to Santa Rosa even for business reasons.

[789] e) When the sorcerers do not wish a person to return, they place at a strategic spot on the road two bundles of chayuts pointing upward, and in addition they blow dry pringamoza.

f) A curer from Santa Rosa explains how a spell was cast on one of the former gobernadors of the parcialidad. The late Leonidas was working in his garden and his rancho was empty. Then a woman came in, dressed in black (Dolores Oinó), dropped into the pot of food some of her own pubic hair, and stole a piece of Pijao earthenware that contained silver. Leonidas ate this food and began to feel his throat become dry
[783] and to breathe with difficulty. Finally he died. The Pijao pest has the same symptoms.

g) When the sorcerer wants a person to suffer an accident (fracture, contusion, dislocation), he leaves somewhere in that person's house a very smooth stone taken from the stream. The person, wherever he may be, slips and falls.

5:Bernal Villa--53 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

/260 cont./

754 If a person kills himself in a fall, it is believed that the
● [783] sorcerer sent him ptans.
[761] h) To cast a spell on the plantings, they use tobacco, matches, and other remedies with which they are burned and destroyed.

As will be noted, in their enchantments the sorcerers do not use any parts or objects belonging to the victim, such as hair, nails, clothing, etc. Most of the remedies that they use are herbs or objects that have properties noxious to man or can cause him harm.

The sorcerer believes that putting them in contact with the soul or simply with the body produces the desired effects.

754 /261/ Paez sorcery is a clear case of imitative or
789 homeopathic magic, according to Frazer's classic definition. It is "desire dominating the world with instruments born of desire" (10).

[108] 10. Ponce, Aníbal. Estudios de Psicología /Psychological Studies/, El Ateneo, Buenos Aires, 1947, p. 363.

754 The Paez fear illness and death and live in the fear that
182 the whites may take from them their land, their ranchos, their plantings, that is to say, their very sources of survival.

While the sorcerers attack the customs of a capitalist economy and transculturation openly, the curers protect the community against sickness and against the attacks of individuals or groups, by means of their divinations and their vigorous and constant conjurations. In this sense sorcerer and curer are identical. They protect the community.

683 Punishment of the sorcerers. The sorcerer is feared by
754 the entire population; identified throughout by it, he suffers general enmity; torrents of hatred arise against him, ending most of the time in violent punishment: confinement in the stocks, whippings, dunkings, and even exile.

P 245 /298 cont./ Guadua bamboo thrives in the temperate valleys. It is of excellent quality. In most cases it serves as shade for the coffee. Its increase would redound in obvious benefits.

P 249 /299/ In spite of the fact that plantings of coca are proscribed by Colombian law, it is cultivated for consumption at C [249] [656] almost every home; and in some parcialidades there are numerous P [435] plantings for commercial purposes. The value of the leaf is high. A pound is quoted at three pesos.

Pc 313 Sawmills are found in Coscuro, Toez, the Símbola River, Pc [785] and the Salado stream. But this is almost exclusively an industry of the "whites." Only in San Andrés and Mosoco was it possible to see native sawyers. There is no reforestation.

P 241 172 137 In a large part of the parcialidades of San Andrés, Calderas, Lame, Mosoco, and Vitoncó, and the entire valley of the Páez River, the clearings seem to have been done in quite remote times. There are no forests, but remnants are found along the crests and ridges that separate the valleys and in the windings where the human foot does not venture to tread. The cliffs are covered with uniform savanna vegetation.

P 172 241 In many parcialidades there are archeological remains belonging to an unknown civilization earlier than that of the Páez. P [783] The lands where these elements are found are utilized without any qualms. But when the plantings are in a "new clearing," the natives take the precaution of performing the required purifications before beginning to consume the crops, in order to avoid the "Pijao" plague which might happen if the crops had been in contact with the archeological remains, "pijaos" in the expression of the natives.

P 245 The cultivation of fruit trees is not very widespread, in spite of the fact that up to not very long ago Inzá enjoyed the reputation of being the producer of peaches and apples of very good quality. Nowadays they are cultivated for commercial purposes in Vitoncó, La Troja, and El Cabuyo, where true orchards of these trees are maintained with care. The fruits are splendid and are harvested during the first three months of the

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

The graves were "large and deep," and chiefs were buried with some of their wives and with food and chicha (Cieza, 1932, ch. 32). 764 766

In Colonial times, according to Del Castillo, the *Páez* removed a dying person from his hut but burned the house if anyone died in it. They had given up cremation, however, and buried in the earth, building a fence around the grave. Today, they cover the corpse with a white shroud and place it in the middle of the house with candles and flowers. Here it is watched over one night by relatives and friends, and then buried in a cemetery, where each relative tosses some earth into the grave saying, "Go with God." The mourners then bathe in the river without disrobing, and in the evening hold a banquet with chicha, sancocho (vegetable stew), meat, and tortillas. For 9 days a cross, a container of water, and a candle must be kept on the deceased's bed, the water being kept there so that the soul may drink. The relatives pray every night. A month after the death, a shaman purifies the house. The relatives and friends kill a pig, cut it lengthwise in two halves, one for the shaman, the other for the ceremonial banquet. The shaman sweeps the house floor with the pig's legs and some special branches, which are later buried. He chews coca, says some unintelligible words, and spits leaves on the house walls. The residents and guests then enter the house for the final proof of purification. The shaman, standing in the center of the house, gives a dog half a tortilla. If the dog does not die, he divides the other half among those present. He does the same with a piece of cooked meat, and if the dog still does not die, he blows chicha in all directions in the hut, and then divides what remains with those present. The hut and food are then declared clean The food is then eaten and much chicha drunk.

178 764 [763] 765 764 765 756 783

The modern burial customs of the *Moguex* differ somewhat from those of the *Páez*. The former dance for 9 days before and after burying a dead child. Because of the special ceremonies for adults, young Indians gather and prepare wood to be burned at their own funerals. When an adult dies, relatives and friends bring wood, food, and money to the house, and work for his family, who pray and weep for 3 days over the body. On the fourth day, they carry the body in a procession to the cemetery. Upon passing a house or inn where the deceased was accustomed to take chicha, they stop and drink. The burial procedure is like that of the *Páez*. Back at the house, they purify the objects used by the deceased over the fire, and leave his clothes and the hide he used as a bed at the river 9 days, after which they may be used. Meanwhile, the guests remain with the deceased's family, helping them. On the 9th day, they extinguish all lights and go to the nearest hill to mourn, while a shaman remains in the house to catch the soul of the deceased. He chews coca, spits it in all directions, and beats around with sticks to make the soul come out. Then he lights

764 184 [766] [535] [295] [783] 765 756 787 775 184